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Reconstructing solo pieces for *biwa* (lute) of eighth to thirteenth-century Japan

Steven G. NELSON

This is an interim report on a continuing project to reconstruct the complete repertoire of solo pieces for *biwa* 琵琶 (lute) recorded in collections of tablature notation that survive from eighth to thirteenth-century Japan. The performance practice of this solo repertoire was lost in the medieval period. Reconstructed performances of a limited number of these pieces have been given in December 2012, March 2014, March 2017 (Tokyo) and September 2017 (Shanghai), and a studio recording of seventeen of the pieces was made in March 2018 (Tokyo), with the cooperation of the *biwa* player NAKAMURA Kahoru 中村かほる. This report first surveys the sources of music notation, their repertoires of solo pieces, and the tunings used in them. It then discusses issues that have proven to be especially problematic in the process of preparing the results of the decipherment of the notations for stage performance, and possible hints for solving them to be found both in the scores themselves and contemporary writings on music. In addition, a single scene from the early eleventh-century novel *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*) is examined from two perspectives: the first points out a common misunderstanding in interpreting the text of the novel caused by the loss of knowledge of the solo repertoire; and the second speculates that an offhand comment made by one of the characters in the scene may have been taken advantage of by musicians in later years to stamp authority on a comparatively new development in their tradition.

Early *biwa* scores, their solo repertoires, and tunings

The Japanese *biwa* or *gaku-biwa* is a variety of East Asian lute, a four-stringed instrument with bent neck, that arrived in China from western Asia via the Silk Road at about the dawn of the Common Era. It became extremely popular in China by the time of the Tang dynasty (618–907), in both foreign-influenced and Chinese popular music, where it was used to accompany song, as well as in solo and ensemble performance. It found its way to Japan probably by the late seventh century, and several examples dating from the mid-eighth century can be seen in the holdings of the Shōsō-in storehouse on the grounds of the Nara temple Tōdai-ji. It is still used today, with its basic construction hardly altered, in the performance of Japanese *tōgaku* ('Tang music') and to accompany the court song genre *saibara*.

The repertoire recorded in early scores for the *biwa* is made up of both solo and ensemble

pieces. Here I deal only with the solo pieces, a repertoire that apparently died out at the end of the medieval period, and which is not represented in the modern repertoire of *gagaku*.¹ These solo pieces are essentially of two types. The first are short pieces used for testing tunings, called *kakiawase* 撥合 or *o-awase* 絃合／緒合 in the sources. Here I call these ‘tuning pieces.’ The second are longer pieces with more substantial musical content, called *te* 手, *chō* 調, or *chōshi* 調子. In music-making contexts involving ensemble performance, these pieces were performed before ensemble pieces in order to introduce or demonstrate the characteristics of a particular mode, and I hence call them ‘modal preludes.’ These modal preludes are named in interesting ways, sometimes with numbers, sometimes with titles that seem to have programmatic significance, and sometimes with both. For example, the title of the second modal prelude in the *Ōshiki* tuning is: *Ni-no-te Kyūsen* 二手 丘泉, which translates as ‘Modal prelude No. 2, Mountain spring.’

The oldest notation for the *biwa* survives from 747 or before, and there are examples of notation from each succeeding century. Figure 1 lists only scores that include either tuning pieces, modal preludes, or both. In an earlier article, I have provided detailed commentary on each these sources and the form in which they survive, i.e. original or later copy (Nelson 2012a). It should be noted that the second source, the *Biwa shochōshi-bon*, includes tuning instructions for a conspicuous total of 27 tunings, some of which are stated to be identical, and short tuning pieces for 23 of them. The tuning pieces are not shared by any of the other sources, however, and are so short that they give us very little to work with for musical analysis.² Two previous studies of the tuning pieces have produced greatly differing results, and a satisfactory solution may remain elusive (Nelson 2012a: (10)). The tuning pieces in this source have been excluded from consideration in this report.

Figure 1 Early scores for four-stringed lute *pipa/biwa* 琵琶 with notation for solo pieces

Name of score	Compiler and/or date
<i>Tenpyō biwa-fu</i> 天平琵琶譜	A fragment (6 columns) of notation on the reverse of a document dated 747, in the collection of the Shōsō-in.
<i>Biwa shochōshi-bon</i> 琵琶諸調子品	A collection of tunings and short tuning pieces transmitted from the Chinese lute master Lian Chengwu 廉承武 to his Japanese student, Fujiwara no Sadatoshi 藤原貞敏 (807–67), at Yangzhou 揚州 in 838.
<i>Nangū biwa-fu</i> 南宮琵琶譜	A collection of ‘secret modal preludes’ (<i>hishu</i> 秘手) compiled on imperial order by Imperial Prince Sadayasu 貞保親王 (870–924, the Nangū 南宮 Prince) in 921, for his student, Imperial Prince Atsumi 敦実親王 (893–967).
<i>Minamoto no Tsunenobu-hitsu biwa-fu</i> 源経信筆琵琶譜	A collection of tuning pieces and modal preludes (17), and <i>tōgaku</i> ensemble pieces (18), in the hand of the politician, poet, and musician Minamoto no Tsunenobu 源経信 (1016–97).
<i>Sango yōroku</i> 三五要録	A collection of the complete <i>biwa</i> repertoire compiled by the politician/musician Fujiwara no Moronaga 藤原師長 (1138–92, Myōon-in 妙音院). Scroll 2 gives notation for a total of 45 tuning pieces and modal preludes. (See chart of contents in appendix.)
<i>Sango chūroku</i> 三五中録	A collection of notations for everyday use compiled by Fujiwara no Takatoki 藤原孝時 (1189/90–1266), son of Moronaga’s student Fujiwara no Takamichi 藤原孝道 (1166–1237). Solo pieces in Scroll 1.

Figure 2 shows the number of tuning pieces and modal preludes in each of the sources under discussion, classified according to tuning. There are three main tunings, *Fukōjō*, *Hen-pukōjō*, and *Ōshikichō*. A fourth tuning, *Hen-ōshikichō*, is identical to *Ōshikichō*, but a differing use of frets gives *Oshikichō* a *ritsu* 律, or minor, modal character, while *Hen-ōshikichō* has a *ryo* 呂, or major, modal character. For reference purposes, pitches for the tunings of each the four strings are given according to the pitch-precise account in Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku*, detailed in Figure 4 below. This may not necessarily apply to all of the earlier sources. In Figure 2, Column A indicates the number of tuning pieces, while B indicates the number of modal preludes. It is important to note that a significant number of tuning pieces can only be found from the twelfth-century *Sango yōroku*. We know from many works of literature that *kakiawase* tuning pieces were performed in earlier centuries; it may be that these pieces were partially improvised or passed down primarily in an oral fashion, and that the compiler of *Sango yōroku*, Fujiwara no Moronaga, brought them together in this form for the first time.

Figure 2 Number of tuning pieces and modal preludes in the early *biwa* scores

Tuning name	<i>Fukōjō</i> 風香調	<i>Hen-pukōjō</i> 返風香調	<i>Ōshikichō</i> 黄鐘調	<i>Hen-ōshikichō</i> 返黄鐘調	<i>Seichō</i> 清調	<i>Sōjō</i> 双調	<i>Hyōjō</i> 平調	<i>Takubokuchō</i> 啄木調	Total	
Tuning(s)	A c e a B d f# b	G A d g A B e a (d e a d')	E B e a	E B e a	B e e b F# B B f#	A d e a	F# B e a	G G d g (or A A e a)		
mode type	<i>ritsu</i>	<i>ryo</i>	<i>ritsu</i>	<i>ryo</i>	<i>ritsu</i>	<i>ryo</i>	<i>ritsu</i>	<i>ryo (ritsu)</i>		
	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B	A B		
<i>Tenpyō biwa-fu</i>			1 1*						1 1*	
<i>Nangū biwa-fu</i>	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 2					0 14	
<i>Tsunenobu-hitsu biwa-fu</i>	0 5	0 6	0 2	0 2	1 0	1 1			2 16	
<i>Sango yōroku</i>	7 7	6 9	6 3	2 1	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 1	24 21	
<i>Sango chūroku</i>	5 6	5 7	5 2	2 1	1 0	1 0	1 0		20 16	

A=Tuning pieces (*kakiawase* / *o-awase*); B=Modal preludes (*te* / *chō* / *chōshi*). An asterisk indicates that the notation is incomplete.

For the purposes of the reconstruction of the lost repertoire, I am working centrally with the source that includes the largest total number of tuning pieces and modal preludes, namely Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku*. Two charts have been appended to this report. Appendix 1 lists the contents of Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku* with notes on modal usage in each piece; each piece is given a reference number (01 to 45) and the four modal preludes known especially as ‘secret pieces’ are marked with stars. Appendix 2 identifies correspondences in the contents of the modal preludes, in four scores from *Tenpyō biwa-fu* to *Sango yōroku*.

The notation to be found in these scores, like that of the other *gagaku* instruments, is written in vertical columns from right to left across the page. It is made up of several different types of signs, which can be divided into three classes, according to function:

1. Primary tablature signs. These signs indicate open strings and fingering positions, and, once

a tuning is established, pitch. They take the form of Chinese characters or abbreviated versions of them. The primary tablature signs are sometimes written small and to the right in the vertically written column of notation. This indicates sounding with the fingers of the left hand rather than with the plectrum; large tablature signs are sounded with the plectrum.

2. Secondary tablature signs. These signs have meanings related to rhythm and meter, especially concerning the relative durations of the primary tablature signs, by means of halving or doubling the duration of the basic unit, which is represented by an unmodified primary tablature sign.
3. Tertiary tablature signs. These are signs of a graphic intent that relate primarily to performance techniques, such as upstrokes (retroflex strokes with the plectrum), arpeggios, vibrato and the like.

Although there is some variety in the forms taken by the primary tablature signs, there is little problem in identifying them and establishing what each of them signifies in terms of its position on the fret layout of the instrument (Nelson 2012a: (4)). As Figure 3 shows, the majority of the primary tablature signs of the *biwa* are shared by the mouthorgan *shō* 笙. This relationship provides us with a number of interesting insights. For instance, if we relate the absolute pitches of the pipes indicated by the *shō* tablature signs to the tablature signs of the *biwa*, we come up with a theoretical *biwa* tuning of B-e-a-d', that is, with the strings tuned in perfect fourths. While this tuning may have been used in China, and during the earliest period of performance in Japan, there is no trace of it in any of the Japanese sources. There is, however, a tuning used today that is exactly one fourth lower than this: F#-B-e-a. Currently it is used for *tōgaku* pieces in the mode *banshikichō*.

Figure 3 Tablature signs and pitch: the relationship of the mouthorgan *shō* and the lute *biwa*
(Nelson 2009: 111)

<i>shō</i>	<i>kotsu</i> 乞		<i>ichi</i> 一	<i>ku</i> 工	<i>bō</i> 凡			<i>otsu</i> 乙	<i>ge</i> 下	<i>jū</i> 十	<i>bi</i> 美	
	pitch	a'	b'	c#"	d"			e"	f#"	g"	g#"	
<i>biwa</i>		<i>ichi</i> 一	<i>ku</i> 工	<i>bō</i> 凡	<i>shu</i> フ	<i>to</i> 斗	<i>otsu</i> 乚	<i>ge</i> 下	<i>jū</i> 十	<i>bi</i> 乙	<i>ko</i> コ	
string		I					II					
fret		0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	
original pitch?		B	c#	d	d#	e	e	f#	g	g#	a	

<i>shō</i>	<i>gyō</i> 行	<i>shichi</i> 七	<i>hi</i> 比	<i>gon</i> 言		<i>jō</i> 上	<i>hachi</i> 八		<i>sen</i> 千	<i>ya</i> 也	<i>mō</i> 毛
	pitch	a"	b"	c"	c#""	d"	e"		f#"	no reed	
<i>biwa</i>	<i>gyō</i> ク	<i>shichi</i> 七	<i>hi</i> 匕	<i>gon</i> ㄣ	<i>shi</i> 之	<i>jō</i> 乚	<i>hachi</i> 八	<i>boku</i> 丨	<i>sen</i> 厶	<i>ya</i> 也	
	string	III					IV				
fret		0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
original pitch?		a	b	c'	c#'	d'	d'	e'	f'	f#'	g'

Needless to say, on an instrument with multiple tunings like the East Asian lute, knowing which position on the fret system a particular tablature sign signifies is not enough to know what pitch is intended. The instrument appears to have always had multiple tunings, and these tunings and their names have undergone a number of changes during the long history of *tōgaku* in Japan. Figure 4 gives the tunings and the modes they are used for, as set out in Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku*. Since this scroll includes notation for a total of 45 tuning pieces and modal preludes in these tunings, we can assume that the tuning systems given here reflect contemporary performance practice of the late twelfth century. There are eight named tuning systems, but also what appear to be inconsistencies. Aside from the identity in terms of both relative and absolute pitch of *Ōshikichō* and *Hen-ōshikichō*, why do some of the tuning names (*Ōshikichō*, *Sōjō*, *Hyōjō*) match mode names, but never coincide with them?

Figure 4 *Biwa* tunings in Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku*

<i>Biwa</i> tuning name 琵琶調絃名	Mode name 調子名	Tuning 調絃
<i>Fukōjō</i> 風香調	<i>Ōshikichō</i> 黃鐘調	A c e a
	<i>banshikichō</i> 盤涉調	B d f# b
<i>Hen-pukōjō</i> 返風香調	<i>sōjō</i> 双調	G A d g
	<i>suichō</i> 水調	A B e a
<i>Ōshikichō</i> 黃鐘調	<i>hyōjō</i> & <i>seichō</i> 平調・性調	E B e a
<i>Hen-ōshikichō</i> 返黃鐘調	<i>taishikichō</i> & <i>kotsujikichō</i> 大食調・乞食調	E B e a
<i>Seichō</i> 清調	<i>hyōjō</i> 平調	B e e b
	<i>banshikichō</i> 盤涉調	F# B B f#
<i>Sōjō</i> 双調	<i>ichikotsuchō</i> & <i>sadachō</i> 壹越調・沙陀調	A d e a
<i>Hyōjō</i> 平調	<i>banshikichō</i> 盤涉調	F# B e a
<i>Takubokuchō</i> 啄木調	(none given)	G G d g or A A e a

This chart sets out the information on tunings given in Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku*: the names of the tunings; the mode or modes in which a particular tuning is used; and the pitches of the strings of the instrument in that mode or modes. Since (as shown in **bold** type) the names of some of the tunings are the same as the names of some of the modes—despite the fact that the two never coincide—the names of the tunings are capitalized to distinguish them from the mode names.

As a result of the loss of the repertoire for solo *biwa*, and the difficult nature of the relationship between the tuning names and mode names, many passages in classical literature have become opaque, and are often misinterpreted. Here a single example must suffice. *Genji monogatari*, known in its English translations as *The Tale of Genji*, is an early eleventh-century novel that includes many scenes of music making, both public and private. Solo performance is especially common on the string instruments. Here I quote from the chapter entitled *Yadorigi* 宿木, which Royall Tyler translates as ‘The Ivy.’ This is an excerpt from the latter part of the novel, after the death of the main character Hikaru Genji, in which two young men engage in a rivalry over three sisters, daughters of an imperial prince who lives in Uji, a place some distance south of the capital. One of the men, Niou, is an imperial prince, the son of Genji’s daughter, while the other, Kaoru, is known to the world as Genji’s son, but is in fact the son of Genji’s nephew. Here, Niou plays the *biwa* for Naka no Kimi, one of the sisters and now Niou’s wife. She is irri-

tated with him because he has been spending more time with a new, younger wife. Niou, for his part, is jealous of Naka no Kimi's continued friendship with Kaoru, suspecting that there is something more to the relationship. One evening in late autumn, as the wind disturbs the autumn grasses in the garden, Niou plays the *biwa* (underlining added).

なつかしきほどの御衣^ぞどもに、直衣^{なほし}ばかり着たまひて、琵琶^{びば}を弾きゐたまへり。黄鐘調^{わうしきでう}の搔^かき合は
せを、いとあはれに弾きなしたまへば、女君^{おんなきみ}も心に入りたまへることにて、もの怨^{あんな}じもえしはてた
まはず、小さき御几帳^{きちやう}のつまより、脇息^{けふそく}に寄りかかりてほのかにさし出でたまへる、いと見まほし
くうたげなり。

新編日本古典文学全集『源氏物語』5: 465-67 (小学館、1997)

(*waka* poem) ... he [Niou] murmured as he sat there playing a *biwa*, wearing only a dress cloak over his pleasantly soft garments.⁸⁸ It was a piece in the *ōshiki* mode, one so moving that she [Naka no Kimi], who played the *biwa*, too, could not long remain angry; instead she leaned on her armrest to peer at him for a moment around her low curtain, in a manner so appealing that one longed to see more.

88. He is not wearing gathered trousers, which makes his costume very casual.

Tyler, Royall, trans. *The Tale of Genji*. Viking Penguin, 2001. Pp. 960-61.

What Tyler has translated as 'a piece in the *ōshiki* mode,' is actually 'a tuning piece in the *Ōshikichō* tuning.' This is not only Tyler's mistake, however, since the majority of modern Japanese editions of the tale say the same thing. First, the editors invariably write the word for 'tuning piece,' *kakiawase*, with the wrong characters; it should be 撥合 as used in the old scores, rather than the 搔き合はせ that can be found in all modern editions. Furthermore, the editors almost invariably make the same mistake of identifying *ōshikichō* as a mode rather than a tuning, describing it as a *ritsu* (minor) mode on A (A-b-c-d-e-f#-g-a). If we interpret this as the name of a tuning, however, Niou is playing in the low *Ōshikichō* tuning (E-B-e-a); it is therefore a tuning piece in the mode *hyōjō*, a *ritsu* mode on E (E-f#-g-a-b-d-c#-d-e). The mode *hyōjō* was thought of as the mode of autumn according to the *gagaku* cosmology of the time, so it is especially suitable for this scene. It seems highly likely that the author's choice of this tuning—and the resultant mode—was quite deliberate.

Reconstructing lost performance practice: basic performance technique and temporal aspects

Two issues are especially problematic when we endeavour to turn the notation in the scores into performable music for the *biwa*. Because we know the tunings for each piece, it is a simple matter to read the pitches of the tablature signs. Problems arise, however, when we begin to consider temporal aspects of the music: rhythm, time values and tempo. The second issue is that of the basic performance technique of the instrument. In the modern ensemble performance of *tōgaku*, it is played quite sparingly, with a strong downstroke, often in arpeggio style, on the first beat of each measure. While this arpeggio style is the basic technique of modern performance

practice, it appears that such was not the case at the time when the solo repertoire was still being played.

The following is a passage from a manual for *biwa* playing called *Kokin kyōroku* 胡琴教録 ('Record for learning the barbarian zither'), which dates from the early thirteenth century. Although we are not sure of the identity of its author, it is said to record the teachings of a master *biwa* player named Nakahara no Ariyasu 中原有安.

『胡琴教録』上より (五) 柱差

師説に云はく、「柱差す手は常に握るやうに見すべき也。母指は常に二の柱の上に置く」と。

又云はく、「一絃には常に大指を障^さへて他の絃を弾く時一絃の響きを聞かしむべからざる也」と。

又云はく、「四絃を弾く時、一、二の緒に母指を障^さふべし。響きを聞かしめざるため也」と。愚案、清調に用いる。四絃の散声する時一、二、三の緒、皆これを消す。

(諸本に基づく筆者の校訂)

Kokin kyōroku, Vol. 1 5. Pressing the frets

The Master says, "You should always make it look as if you are grasping (the neck) when you press the frets. Your thumb should be on the second fret."

He also says, "You should always press your thumb against the first string so that it does not sound when you play the other strings."

And again, "When you play the fourth string, you should press your thumb against the first and second strings. This is to stop them from sounding." My idea: Use in the *seichō* tuning.* When you play the open fourth string, you stop the sound of strings 1, 2, and 3.

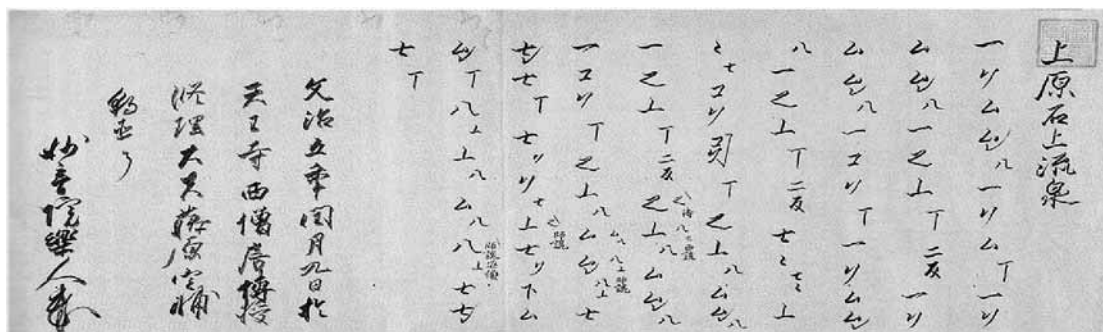
* The *seichō* tuning is B-e-e-b or F#-B-B-f#. With its octave, unison and fifths, sympathetic resonance may have been a special problem in this tuning.

(Translation of unpublished text edited by author)

Ariyasu's explanation is clear: he is telling us, through his student, that care should be taken not to sound the lower strings when the higher strings are played. Non-arpeggio was clearly the basic style for *biwa* performance until at least the beginning of the thirteenth century.

My attempts to reconstruct pieces of the solo *biwa* repertoire began in 2012, for a concert re-enacting an incident of the early thirteenth century, when Kamo no Chōmei (Nagaakira), perhaps best known for his 1212 account of his life as a Buddhist recluse, the *Hōjō-ki* 方丈記 (*Account of My Ten-foot Square Hut*), gathered the master musicians of his time together for a concert of 'secret pieces,' songs and largely solo instrumental pieces for the winds and strings of the *gagaku* ensemble. He was so excited by the other performances that he played the most secret of the secret *biwa* pieces, *Takuboku* ('Woodpecker'), despite never having been officially taught it. For the 2012 concert, I attempted a reconstruction of all of the secret pieces for *biwa*, four in total (Nos. 14, 27, 28 and 45 in Appendix 1; see Nelson 2013). Since they were 'secret pieces,' I had anticipated that the notations would be particularly complex, but I discovered to my surprise that the surviving scores for at least three of them were very easy to read in terms of rhythm, since they consistently follow the basic rule of one large tablature sign per beat, and are constructed in repeated rhythmic cycles of eight (and sometimes four) beats. Rests, written into the notation

with the character *tei* 丁, come almost exclusively on the last beat of the eight. This can be seen most clearly in the piece *Jōgen sekijō ryūsen* ('Flowing spring on the rocks of heaven,' No. 28 in Appendix 1), which is in the *Hen-pukōjō* tuning.



Photograph 1: *Jōgen sekijō ryūsen* ('Flowing spring on the rocks of heaven'). In the hand of Fujiwara no Moronaga (1138–92), held by the Imperial Palace Library. Transmitted to his student Fujiwara no Sadasuke (or Nijō Sadasuke, 1163–1227), later teacher of the Emperors Gotoba and Juntoku, on the 19th day of the intercalary 4th month, 1189 (Bunji 5).

If the notation is set out appropriately, both the rhythmic cycles of eight beats and the regular positioning of the character *tei* are clear.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
一	ク	ム	ム	ハ	一	ク	ム	一	ク	ム	ム	ハ	一	之	上
一	ク	ム	ム	ハ	一	コ	ク	一	ク	ム	ム	ハ	一	之	上
七	々	七	上	々	七	コ	ク	之	上	ハ	ム	ム	ハ	一	之
之	上	ハ	ム	ム	ハ	一	コ	之	上	ハ	ム	ム	ハ	上	七
七	ク	ク	七	上	七	ク	下	ハ	上	上	ハ	ム	ハ	上	七

Transnotation 1: The primary (standard) version given in Fujiwara no Moronaga's 1189 score of *Jōgen sekijō ryūsen* ('Flowing spring on the rocks of heaven').

Turning to the other solo pieces, however, I discovered that this rhythmic consistency was not to be found; it appears that both the tuning pieces and the majority of the modal preludes (of which the 'secret pieces' are a specific variety) lack repeated rhythmic cycles; that is, they are essentially free-rhythm in nature. Since then, I have searched for evidence about ways to interpret rhythmic values, especially of the length of rests. Two possibilities are considered here. The first, although initially viewed as most likely to provide concrete hints as to duration, must be disqualified for the reasons outlined below; the second appears to be more valuable at this point in this continuing research project.

The first is from *Chikoku hishō* 知国秘鈔, a collection of secret teachings on the *gagaku* tradition compiled by Fujiwara no Takamichi 藤原孝道 (1166–1237) for one of his sons in 1229. In the second half of his work, Takamichi introduces various types of *shōga* 唱歌/声歌, syllables for singing the melodies of *gagaku* pieces, or of individual instrumental parts.³ About *shōga* for the *biwa*, his explanation is very concise, but followed by notation of two pieces in the *Fukōjō* tuning, a tuning piece (No. 01 in Appendix 1) and a modal prelude, *Ni-no-te Kyūsen* (No. 09 in Appendix 1). The notation gives the *shōga* syllables to the right of the lute tablature.

『知国秘鈔』下 (複製本) より

琵琶撥合・手などの唱歌、唐より書き置きたる事なれども、又言ひ伝へたる口伝あり。仮令、

風香調撥合 (譜)

二手 丘泉 (譜)

(著者による翻刻を元に、私に漢字を当て、句読点を補った。)

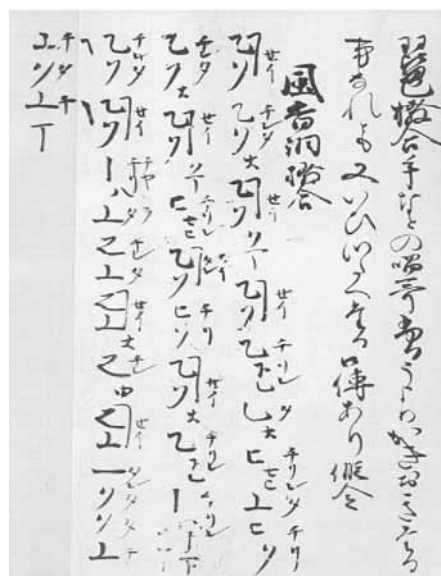
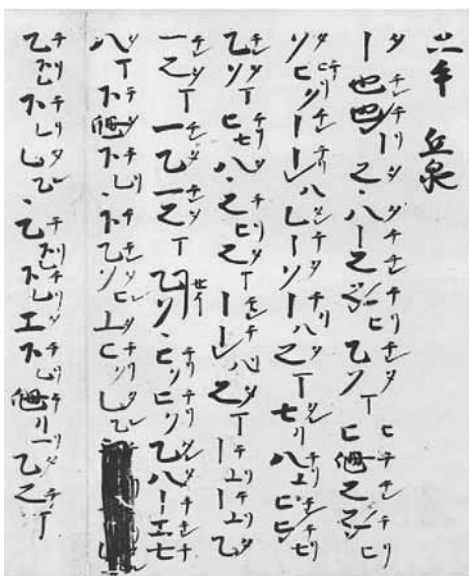
It is true that the *shōga* for the *biwa* tuning pieces and modal preludes were transmitted from Tang China in written form, but there are also oral traditions that have been passed down. For instance:

Fukōjō Kakiawase (Tuning piece in the *Fukōjō* tuning, 01)

notation (right)

Ni-no-te Kyūsen (Modal prelude No. 2, 'Mountain spring,' 09)

notation (left)



I know of no earlier examples of *shōga* for tuning pieces or modal preludes for the *biwa* in written sources, so I find it difficult to interpret Takamichi's first comment about written transmission from Tang China. Although this notation, of only two short pieces, represents an extremely limited sample, it appears possible, however, to draw several conclusions about the nature of this *shōga* for the *biwa* and tendencies in its use of phonological elements. For this purpose, I have prepared preliminary transnotations that combine the *shōga* in Takamichi's notation with the pitches as read from the versions of the pieces given in Scroll 2 of Moronaga's *Sango yōroku*.

sei chin ta sei sei chi ri n ta chi ri n ta chi

ri chin ta sei chi ri n sei chi ri sei chi ri n chi ri n

chin ta sei chi ya ra ta chin ta sei chin sei tan ta

ta chi chi ta chi

Transnotation 2: *Sango yōroku* 'Fukōjō Kakiawase' (01) with *shōga* syllables for the same piece from *Chikoku hishō*

ta chin chi ri ta ta chi chin chi ri chin ta [ta] hi chi chin chi

ri ta hi ri chin chi ri tan chi ta chi ri ta tan chi ri chin chi ri

chin ta chi ri ta chi ri ta chin chi ri ta chi ri chi ri ta chin ta

chin ta chin ta sei chi ri chi ri tan ta chi chin chi ta chi ta chi ri chi chin

ta n ta chi ri ta n chi ri chi ri ta chi ri ta chi ta n chi ri chi ri

Transnotation 3: *Sango yōroku* 'Fukōjō Ni-no-te Kyūsen' (09) with *shōga* syllables for the same piece from *Chikoku hishō*

The characteristics of the *shōga* recorded in Takamichi's notation can be summarized as follows:

1. The moras *ta* and *chi* are used for single notes played with the plectrum.
 - There is a tendency for notes on the open strings (shown in the transnotations with descending tails) to use *ta*, while notes produced on fingered positions (shown with ascending tails) use both *ta* and *chi*.
 - This tendency is reflected when notes are played in succession on the same string: the lower note tends to use *ta* and the higher note *chi*, so that in terms of vowels *a* tends to be lower in pitch than *i*.⁴
2. The mora *n* is added to *ta* and *chi* when followed by a tone of the same pitch, and sometimes a pitch a fifth or octave higher, which may imply that these intervals were understood as being consonant.
3. The two-mora expression *sei* (perhaps pronounced *shei*) is used when two notes are played together on different strings to produce a unison, with the note on the lower string stopped and that on the upper string open.
4. Notes played with the fingers of the left hand use *ri* or *rin*, and *n* alone when a higher fingering position is hit percussively.
5. While there are only few examples, upstrokes (retroflex strokes with the plectrum) are indicated with the mora *chi*, so that no distinction is made in the *shōga* between these strokes and ordinary downstrokes, despite the clear difference in their timbres.
6. Mora count does not appear to relate to duration, since of the five examples of *shōga* used with the secondary tablature sign indicating elongation (㊦) only one is *tan* (*Ni-no-te Kyūsen* ④).⁵

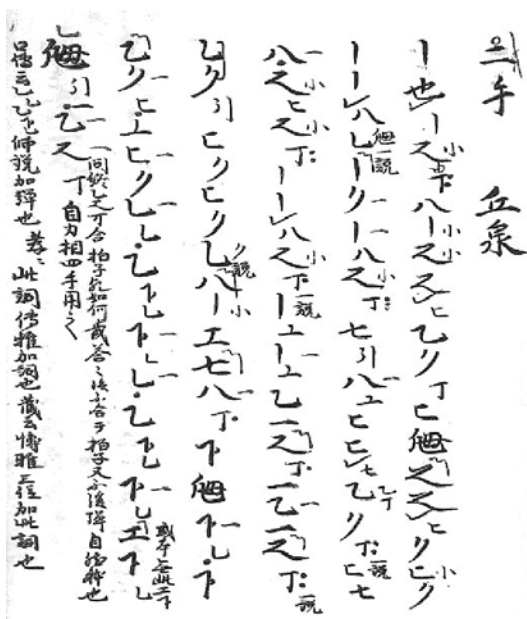
Before undertaking this analysis, I had predicted, contrary to the result in 6, that mora count would relate to duration, and that the *shōga* would therefore provide valuable hints as to the length of certain notes. It is widely acknowledged that the mora *n* indicates a longer note on a plucked string instrument such as the Japanese *shamisen*, for instance.⁶ On this instrument, a strike of the lowest pitched open string is vocalized with the *shōga* (or, more traditionally, '*kuchi-shamisen*') syllable *ton* or *don* for a note of longer duration. The *n* is removed for shorter notes, giving *to* or *do*. Such appears not to have been the case, however, with Takamichi's *shōga* for the *biwa*.

The second type of evidence for interpreting rhythmic values can be found among various annotations added to the notation of the solo pieces in *Sango chūroku*, a thirteenth-century score compiled by another of Takamichi's sons, Takatoki. These annotations to *Fukōjō Ni-no-te 'Kyūsen'* supply information about the length of rests using dots that apparently have the value of one beat. An explanation of this can be found in an annotation to another modal prelude in the same score, *Fukōjō Shi-no-te 'Seichō'* 風香調 四手 生超:

以朱切句一拍子許延之 丁字所ハ兩三拍子延之云々

The red dots breaking up [the column of notation] are only one beat long; *tei* 丁 indicates

lengthening of two or three beats.



Photograph 4: *Sango chūroku* ‘Fukōjō Ni-no-te
‘Kyūsen’

The monochrome reproduction makes it difficult to distinguish the red dots within the column of notation; one example can be seen, for instance, after the first tablature sign (♮) of the third column of the notation (ignoring the first column on the right, which gives the title of the modal prelude). The secondary tablature sign *tei* 丁 appears relatively often, dividing the notation into longer musical phrases. Some occur without dots; others have between one and three dots to their right, apparently indicating the length of rests. If an unmodified *tei* indicates a rest of one beat, one with one dot might signify two beats, one with two dots three beats, and one with three dots four beats. Other annotations, 小 and 一, apparently deal with the use of the plectrum, and perhaps what may be the beginnings of the use of the arpeggio technique

on some of the tones. The questions of what these annotations signify in concrete terms, and of who added them to the notation, will require further analysis and tracing of performance lineages, but faced with the need to decide the length of these rests for the live performance of our reconstructions, I decided to adopt the advice of this (at present unidentified) annotator.

Formal and modal characteristics of the tuning pieces and modal preludes

Some remarks are in order regarding the formal and modal characteristics of the tuning pieces and modal preludes, as revealed through analysis of the notation to date. Of the total of 45 pieces in Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku*, there are 24 tuning pieces (Nos. 01 to 07, 15 to 20, 30 to 35, 39, 40, and 42 to 44). The Japanese name of this class of pieces, *kakiawase*, is made up of two elements. '*Kaki*' comes from the verb '*kaku*,' meaning 'to strike (the strings).' '*Awase*' comes from the verb '*awasu*,' modern form '*awaseru*,' meaning 'bring together.' The expression as a whole, then, means something like 'strike the strings together.' This expression encapsulates neatly the musical nature of the tuning pieces: substantial sections of them involve the repeated, and apparently rhythmically accented, striking of the same pitch on different strings, either together or in turn. The repeated pitch is either the tonic (first degree) or dominant (fifth degree) of the mode. In tunings such as *Ōshikichō* where one of these pitches cannot be played in unison on neighbouring strings, unison figures are replaced by figures with octave leaps.

In terms of their modal characteristics, the tuning pieces present a distinctive reinterpretation of Chinese modal practice. As recorded in Appendix 1, tuning pieces in tunings for playing

dorian modes according to Chinese practice—*Fukōjō* and *Ōshikichō*—retain their dorian modal characteristics; these are modes that came to be known in Japan as *ritsu* (‘minor’) modes. In strong contrast, the tuning pieces in one of the tunings for playing mixolydian modes according to Chinese practice, namely *Hen-pukōjō*, are strongly lydian in nature. This clearly reflects the Japanese ‘lydianization’ of the mixolydian modes that had occurred in the string parts by the mid-eleventh century at the latest (Nelson 2012b: (46)).

The performance practice of the modal preludes, however, appears to have been more conservative. Modal preludes in the tunings for dorian modes (Nos. 08 to 14, 36 and 38) again retain their dorian nature, but the lydianization of *Hen-pukōjō* strongly expressed in the tuning pieces is not to be observed in the modal preludes. Two (Nos. 21 and 22) retain their original mixolydian nature, four others (Nos. 23 to 26) demonstrate a fluctuation between mixolydian and lydian, while the two ‘secret pieces’ in this tuning (Nos. 27 and 28) begin in mixolydian on G (or A) and modulate in their second halves to dorian on E (or F#).⁷ No. 29, an extremely short modal prelude in this tuning, is dorian in character from beginning to end, in effect using a *ryo* (lydian or mixolydian) tuning to play a *ritsu* (dorian) piece; the tonic and dominant are not available on any of the open strings.⁸ In terms of their formal characteristics, the repetition of certain phrases, creating a motivic consistency, can usually be observed in each modal prelude. Further detailed analysis of each piece must wait another opportunity.

A final topic for consideration is that of tempo, certainly one of the most important elements in the evocation of the ‘mood’ or ‘atmosphere’ of a piece. As noted above, it seems clear that the extremely slow tempo of modern *tōgaku* performance practice would be impractical in solo *biwa* performance, and a faster tempo is the only viable alternative. The question is one of degree. Of course it is unreasonable to expect concrete, quantifiable details about tempo in contemporary records, whether collections of notations or music treatises, but we are fortunate to have an interesting comment on the tempo of the ‘secret pieces,’ again from the source that proved so instructive with regard to the basic performance technique, namely *Kokin kyōroku*.

『胡琴教録』上より (一六) 手

又云はく、「楊真操、石上流泉、大略同じ程にこれを弾く。上原石上流泉そこぶる速くこれを弾く」と。
(諸本に基づく筆者の校訂)

Kokin kyōroku, Vol. 1 16. Modal preludes:

He [the Master] also says, “You play *Yōshinsō* and *Sekijō ryūsen* at about the same tempo. You play *Jōgen sekijō ryūsen* very quickly.”

(Translation of unpublished text edited by author)

Here I have translated the Japanese adverb *sukoburu* in the second sentence as ‘very,’ modifying the adverb *hayaku*, ‘quickly.’ There may be a problem here, since while *sukoburu* is generally used with this meaning in modern Japanese, in ancient Japanese it was also used in a weaker or more ambiguous sense, somewhat like British English ‘rather.’ During the period of my collaboration with the *biwa* player NAKAMURA Kahoru, I have gradually convinced her that a quicker tempo is

possible: our initial recording of February 2013 (CD issued with Nelson 2013) made substantial use of the traditional arpeggio technique, and was played at the tempo of 56 bpm; our latest recording (March 2018, as yet unpublished) eliminates the arpeggio technique entirely, and is played at 96 bpm. This represents an increase in tempo of about 70 percent, or from *lento* to *andante moderato*. In our latest recording, the tempos of *Yōshinsō* and *Sekijō ryūsen* are 65 and 54 bpm respectively. Clearly work is still necessary on this very important element of performance, whether live or recorded, if we are to observe Ariyasu's admonition to play these two works at about the same tempo.

Birth of a new narrative tradition about the origin of the 'secret piece' *Jōgen sekijō ryūsen*

From some time comparatively late in the Heian period, probably the eleventh century, a set of special 'secret pieces' for the lute *biwa* came to be known as the 'three pieces' (*sankyoku* 三曲). Narrative legends grew around them, which held—despite a lack of any concrete evidence—that they had been transmitted from the Chinese lute master Lian Chengwu 廉承武 (Jp. Ren Shōbu) to the Japanese musician Fujiwara no Sadatoshi 藤原貞敏 (807–67), who travelled to China on the last mission to the Tang in 838–39. The three pieces generally cited in this connection are *Ryūsen* 流泉, *Takuboku* 啄木, and (*Daijō hakushi*) *Yōshinsō* (太 [大] 常博士) 楊真操; the first two often combine to form a term that stands for the 'secret pieces' in works of classical literature.⁹

An important yet rarely acknowledged point, however, is that *Ryūsen* exists in two forms: *Sekijō ryūsen* 石上流泉 and *Jōgen sekijō ryūsen* 上原石上流泉, which means that there are four of the 'three pieces.' The second *Ryūsen* (shown in Transnotation 1 above) appears to be a shorter arrangement of the first, with several parts of the melody shifted up an octave to the fourth, or highest-pitched, string of the instrument. The *jōgen* of the piece's title, written with the characters 'upper plain' (meaning perhaps 'heaven'), may be a pun on an alternative name for this string, namely *jōgen* 上絃. This piece appears for the first time in notation in the collection in the hand of Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016–97), and while I am unable to provide conclusive evidence at this point, I suspect that it may have been created as an arrangement of the earlier *Sekijō ryūsen*, perhaps within the Katsura school of *biwa* playing. This school takes its name from one of Tsunenobu's appellations, Katsura Nagon 桂納言, or the 'Katsura Minister.'

In time, another body of narrative tales developed in order to explain the origin of this second *Ryūsen*, involving the spirit of the Chinese musician visiting a Japanese prince or emperor in order to transmit the version that he had forgotten to pass on to Sadatoshi. Here I would like to propose that this narrative tradition grew out of what is likely a literary fiction that appears in *The Tale of Genji*, soon after the scene discussed above. Niou is still conversing with Naka no Kimi (underlining added).

菊の、まだよくもうつろひはてで、わざとつろひたてさせたまへるは、なかなかおそきに、いかなる一本ひともとにかあらむ、いと見どころありてうつろひたるを、とりわけて折らせたまひて、匂宮「花

の中に^{ひとへ}偏に」と誦^ずじたまひて、^句宮「なにがしの皇子の、この花めでたる夕ぞかし、いにしへ天人の翔りて、琵琶の手教へけるは。何ごともしなかりにたる世はものうしや」とて、御琴^{こと}さし置きたまふを、口惜しと思して、中の君「心こそ浅くもあらめ、昔を伝へたらむことさへは、などてかかしも」とて、おぼつかなき手などをゆかしげに思したれば、^句宮「さらば、ひとりごとはさうざうしきに、さし^{いら}答へしたまへかし」とて、人召して、^{さう}箏の御琴^{こと}とり寄せさせて、弾^ひかせたてまつりたまへど、中の君「昔こそまねぶ人もものしたまひしか、はかばかしく弾きもとめずなりにしものを」とつつましげにて手もふれたまはねば、

新編日本古典文学全集『源氏物語』「宿木」5: 466-67 (小学館、1997)

The chrysanthemums had not yet properly turned color, being slow to do so despite all the care he had them given, but it happened that one after all was beautifully transformed, and he had it picked. “Not alone among the flowers,”⁹¹ he hummed, and then went on to say, “One evening, you know, a long time ago, an Emperor’s son was enjoying flowers like this one, and an angel came down and taught him some *biwa* music.”⁹² Ah, it is a sad world, now that everything is so shallow!”

“Hearts are shallow, yes,” she rejoined, “but surely not what has come down to us from the past!” She longed to hear music she did not know.

“But there is nothing amusing about playing alone. Do accompany me!”

He had brought her a *sō no koto*.

“Once I had someone give me lessons, but I never learned to play anything properly,” she protested modestly. She would not touch it.

91. From a Chinese couplet by Yuan Zhen (778-831), *Wakan rōei shū* 267: “It is not that I love the chrysanthemum alone among flowers, but there are no more blossoms after it has bloomed.”

92. This was said to have happened to Minamoto no Takaakira (914-82), a son of Emperor Daigo. The angel first explained to Takaakira the true meaning of Yuan Zhen’s couplet.

Tyler, Royall, trans. *The Tale of Genji*. Viking Penguin, 2001. Pp. 960-61.

Tyler’s note mentions that Minamoto no Takaakira, one of Emperor Daigo’s sons, is said to have been taught a piece of *biwa* music by an angel, but that is only one facet of the narrative tradition. Here I would like to cite versions of the story in three sources that are, to my knowledge, the oldest surviving sources that record it. All translations are my own.

What may be the oldest form of the story is preserved in *Yoshino Kissui-in gakusho* (‘Music treatise of Kissui-in in Yoshino’), an anonymous single-volume about various aspects of the court music tradition, compiled by either 1179 (with later interpolations) or 1239.

『吉野吉水院楽書』より

西宮左大臣。〔高明。延喜御子。〕康保四年八月十五夜ノクマナカリケルニ。夏ノ直衣ニテ水牛角ノ撥ニテ琵琶ヲ弾給ヘルニ。前ナル童女ウチアオヒデ云ク。大唐ノ琵琶ノ博士廉承武ト云霊ノ只今罷リトホルナリ。君ノ今琵琶ヲ弾玉フヲ感ズルニヨリテ所_レ参ナリ。承和ノ遣唐使掃部頭貞敏ニ琵琶ヲ授クトイヘドモ。イマダ曲ヲ教ヘザル事多。上玄石上流泉ト云此曲ヲサツケ奉ント思テ授之畢。

(続群書類従本、479 頁)

On a moonlit evening, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of Kōhō 4 [967], Western-

Palace Minister of the Left (Takaakira, son of the Engi Emperor, Daigo) was dressed in a summer robe and playing the *biwa* with a water-buffalo-horn plectrum when a young girl sitting close by threw her head back and said, “I am the spirit of Lian Chengwu, the master lute player of the Great Tang. I came because your playing attracted me. I taught Sadatoshi, a member of the Jōwa mission to the Tang, but there were many pieces that I failed to pass on to him. I would like to teach you *Jōgen sekijō ryūsen* [‘Flowing Spring on the Rocks of Heaven’].” He then transmitted the piece to Takaakira.

On the night of the harvest moon, Takaakira is visited by the spirit of the Chinese musician Lian Chengwu, Sadatoshi’s teacher, who takes possession of a girl (a medium?) sitting in his presence. The spirit explains himself (in perfect ancient Japanese!) and transmits to Takaakira a piece that he had not taught Sadatoshi.

My next source is *Kojidan*, a six-volume collection of *setsuwa* (historical tales), attributed to Minamoto no Akikane (1160–1215) and therefore thought to have been completed by 1215. The sixth volume includes tales concerning famous residences and the performing arts. Here the *biwa* player is Takaakira’s more famous brother, Emperor Murakami. The instrument being played gains a prestigious name, Genjō, with the spirit adding that it was one of two instruments that he had given to Sadatoshi to take back to Japan.

『古事談』第六「亭宅諸道」より

【村上天皇弾玄上廉承武聴聞事】

村上聖主明月之夜。於清涼殿昼御座。玄上ヲ水牛角之撥ニテ引澄シテ。只一所御坐ケルニ。如影之者自空飛参テ。孫庇ニ居ケレバ。彼ハ何者ゾト令問給之処。申云。大唐琵琶博士廉承武ニ候。只今此虚ヲ罷通事候ツルガ。御琵琶ノ撥オトノイミジサニ所参入也。恐クハ昔貞敏ニ授胎曲之侍ヲ。欲奉授云々。聖主有叡感之氣。御琵琶ヲ令差置給タリケレバ。カキナラシテ。是ハ廉承武之琵琶ニ候。貞敏ニ二給候之内ニ候ト申ケリ。終夜御談話アリテ。上玄石上曲ヲバ奉授云々。
(後略) (国史大系本、118 頁)

How Emperor Murakami played Genjō and communicated with Lian Chengwu.

One bright moonlit night, Emperor Murakami was by himself, playing the *biwa* Genjō with a water-buffalo-horn plectrum in the daytime chamber of the Seiryōden (Imperial Residence). A shadowy figure flew by and sat on the veranda outside. The Emperor asked who it was, and it replied, “I am Lian Chengwu, master lute player of the Great Tang. I was passing by, and I was attracted by the beautiful sound of your playing. I would like to teach you a piece that I did not pass on to Sadatoshi.” The Emperor was delighted and put the instrument down. The spirit sounded it, and said, “This was once my instrument. It was one of two that I gave to Sadatoshi.” The Emperor spent the night conversing with the spirit, and was transmitted the piece *Jōgen sekijō* (‘On the Rocks of Heaven’) ...

The next source presents both versions, commenting that it seems unlikely that the spirit of the Chinese musician should have visited two different people with the same purpose in mind! I

find the unknown compiler's scepticism refreshing. *Jikkinshō*, also read *Jikkunshō*, is a three-book *setsuwa* collection completed in 1252 or thereabouts.

『十訓抄』第十「可庶幾才能事」より

【廉承武靈奉授琵琶秘曲于村上天皇事・高明彈琵琶時廉承武靈來事】

村上帝月あかき夜。清涼殿のひの御座にて。水牛の角の撥にて玄象を引きすまして。たゞ一所おはしましけるに。影のごとくなる者空より飛参て。孫廂に居たりければ。何者ぞと問せ給けるに。大唐の琵琶の博士。あざな劉次郎廉承武に侍る。只今此空を過侍つるが。御琵琶の撥音のいみじさに参る所也。おそらくは貞敏に授残し、曲の侍るを授奉らんと申。聖主叡感の気おはしまして。御琵琶を指つかはし給たれば。かきならして。是は廉承武が琵琶に侍る。貞敏にふたつたび候し秘事の内に侍ると申けり。終夜御話談有て。上玄石上の曲を授奉りけり。抑西宮左大臣月の夜琵琶を引給ひけるに。廉承武が靈來て。小女に付て秘事を授るよし申伝たり。彼靈二たび来れるかおぼつかなし。(後略)

(国史大系本、152頁)

How the spirit of Lian Chengwu transmitted a secret *biwa* piece to Emperor Murakami, and Lian Chengwu's spirit appeared when Takaakira was playing the *biwa*.

One bright moonlit night, Emperor Murakami was by himself, playing the lute *Genjō* with a water-buffalo-horn plectrum in the daytime chamber of the Seiryōden (Imperial Residence). A shadowy figure flew by and sat on the veranda outside. The Emperor asked who it was, and it replied, "I am Lian Chengwu, also known as Liu Erlang, master lute player of the Great Tang. I was passing by, and I was attracted by the beautiful sound of your playing. I would like to teach you a piece that I did not pass on to Sadatoshi." The Emperor was delighted and passed the instrument to him. He sounded it, and said, "This was once my instrument. It was one of two that I gave to Sadatoshi." The Emperor spent the night conversing with the spirit, and was transmitted the piece *Jōgen sekijō* ('On the Rocks of Heaven'). Once, they say, the spirit of Lian Chengwu possessed a girl who was with the Western-Palace Minister of the Left, Takaakira, when he was playing the *biwa*, and passed a secret piece on to him. It seems unlikely that the spirit should have appeared twice ...

Suffice it to say that this narrative tradition, with the angel becoming the spirit of the Chinese lute master and transmitting the piece to either Minamoto no Takaakira (born a prince but made a commoner, like Hikaru Genji of *Genji monogatari*) or his brother Emperor Murakami, grew very specific in detail as it was passed down. But we should note that this is a phenomenon of the thirteenth century and later, and remain sceptical about any of their claims concerning the 'secret pieces,' special instruments, and their links to historical personages. Traditions newly created at this time, sometimes based loosely on fragments of historical reality, are often cited as historical fact in dictionaries and encyclopedias, and repeated uncritically, without the scepticism evinced by the unknown thirteenth-century compiler of *Jikkinshō*.¹⁰

In conclusion: Further questions for continuing research

In this report I have only scratched the surface of the issue of changes in the modal characteristics of the *biwa*'s solo repertoire. As detailed in Appendix 2, versions of the same modal prelude can be found in collections of notation dating from the eighth century onwards, and a next step will be to identify shifts in modal usage in these pieces. I pointed out that modal usage in tuning pieces in the *Hen-pukōjō* tuning reflects Fujiwara no Moronaga's and his contemporaries' understanding of modal structure, which represents a thorough revision of Chinese theory, consistent in its own terms but also the source of never-ending confusion regarding mode and scale types, and relative-pitch names (see Nelson 2012b). While the modal usage in this tuning, with its thorough lydianization of a originally mixolydian mode, is far removed from what we imagine it would have been like at its Tang Chinese source, the musical language—repeated figures striking either the tonic or dominant either together or in succession—is shared with the tuning pieces of the other tunings. This tells us that the tuning pieces were a living tradition, which changed as the understanding of the performers changed. It may be difficult to measure change within this tradition, however, since there are no substantial records of it predating *Sango yōroku*.

The problem of the conflict between mode names and tuning names needs further attention, perhaps based on the premise that the tunings of the *biwa* were lowered by a fourth or so soon after their transmission to Japan. This may have occurred as the performance practice of the five-stringed *biwa* died out, and the four-stringed *biwa* tunings were lowered from the tenor range to the bass range, in order to cover the lower tessitura that the five-stringed version had covered. It may also have had something to do with the quality of the silk strings that could be made in Japan, and whether they matched the quality available in China. In any case, an experimental raising of Moronaga's tunings by a fourth may take us closer to Chinese practice, producing a scheme in which the *biwa* tuning names match the mode names, so that, for example, music played on the *biwa* *Ōshikichō* tuning produces music in the *ōshiki* mode. This is a topic, however, that requires fuller treatment in a separate paper.

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Notes

- 1 While there have been a number of attempts since the 1960s to reconstruct certain pieces from the solo repertoire, especially the so-called 'secret pieces,' the majority of these interpretations have been based on modern performance practice, and often have such slow tempos that it is close to impossible to perceive the result as any sort of melody.
- 2 The shortest of the tuning pieces has only 11 primary tablature signs, while the longest has 35; the average total is just under 20.
- 3 For a penetrating and perceptive cross-cultural study of what he calls "acoustic-iconic mnemonic systems" for transmitting or representing melodies, see Hughes 2000. Fragmentary *shōga* for the *biwa* dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are discussed by Ng (2011: 40–43).
- 4 As Ng notes (2011: 41), this reflects a broader tendency in the use of vowels to represent relative pitch in melodic movement. This is found in various *shōga* and *shōga*-like mnemonic systems, as identified by Hughes (2000: 102).
- 5 The other four examples are *sei* (3 examples: *Kakiawase* ①②; *Ni-no-te Kyūsen* ⑨), and *chi* (1 example: *Ni-no-te Kyūsen* ⑩).
- 6 This is also noted specifically by Hughes (2000: 97).
- 7 See Transcription 1 above of No. 28, *Jōgen seikjō ryūsen*.
- 8 In my continuing research I hope to be able to provide concrete detail as to the performance context that required this modal practice.
- 9 For an extremely thorough study in Japanese of this narrative tradition, see pp.117–253 of Iso Mizue's 2003 *Inseiki ongaku setsuwa no kenkyū* [Research on Music Tales of the Insei Period (12th century)]. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin (Kenkyū Sōsho 289). 磯水絵『院政期音楽説話の研究』(和泉書院)
- 10 See, for instance, Silvain GUIGNARD's "Biwa traditions" (pp. 643–651) in *East Asia: China, Japan and Korea* (ed. by Robert C. PROVINE, Yoshihiko TOKUMARU, and J. Lawrence WITZLEBEN. Routledge, 2002. Vol. 7 of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*).

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Appendix 1: Repertoire of tuning pieces and modal preludes in Scroll 2 of *Sango yōroku*, and their modal characteristics

	<i>Sango yōroku</i> (Scroll 2) 『三五要録』巻第二 調子品下	Notes on mode (scale / phrase finals) 調性に関するノート (音階 / 各句の終始音)
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Fukōjō</i> 風香調 A-c-e-a / B-d-f#-b (scale analysis based on the former)		
01	<i>Kakiawase</i> 撥合	Scale: A-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: e, e, c, a, a dorian
02	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: A-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: e, e, c, a e, c, a, a dorian
03	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: A-e-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: e, a, a
04	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: A-B-c-d-e-g-a Phrase finals: e, c, a, a
05	The same <i>Kakiawase</i> 同撥合	Scale: A-c-d-e-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: e, c, a, a
06	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version; KATSURA) 又弾 依為桂説不及授人	Scale: A-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: e, c, a, a dorian
07	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version; KATSURA) 又弾 桂説也仍不授之	Scale: A-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: e, c, a, a dorian
08	<i>Ichī-no-te Kyūsen</i> 一手 丘泉	Scale: A-B-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: c, e, c a, c, e, c a dorian
09	<i>Ni-no-te Kyūsen</i> 二手 丘泉	Scale: A-B-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c'-d Phrase finals: a, e, a, e, a, a, a, b, a dorian
10	<i>San-no-te Chintaijō</i> (KATSURA; called <i>Kyūsen</i> in <i>Nangu</i> [<i>biwa</i>]-fu) 三手 陳太娘 南宮譜云丘泉 桂説也仍不及授人	Scale: A-B-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: a, e, a, a, a, a, g, e, c, a dorian
11	<i>Shi-no-te Hakuryokushō</i> 四手 白力相	Scale: A-B-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: a, c, e, a, a, e, (c,) a dorian
12	<i>Shi-no-te Seichō</i> 四手 生超	Scale: A-c-d-e-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: a, a, c, a, a
13	The same <i>te</i> (called 'small <i>te</i> ' in NISHI scores; called 'small <i>chōshi</i> ' in the oral tradition) 同手 西譜云小手又口伝云小調子	Scale: A-c-d-e-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: a, a, e, c, a, a
14	★ <i>Taijō hakushi Yōshinsō</i> 大常博士楊真操	Scale: A-B-c-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c'-d' Phrase finals: e, a, e, e, a, a, a, e, e, a dorian
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Hen-pukōjō</i> 返風香調 G-A-d-g / A-B-e-a (scale analysis based on the former)		
15	<i>Kakiawase</i> 撥合	Scale: G-A-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: d, d, g, d, a, d, g, g lydian
16	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: G-A-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: d, d, g, d, a, d, g, g lydian
17	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: G-A-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: d, d, g, d, a, d, g, g lydian
18	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 'secret version' in NISHI scores 又弾 西譜云秘説	Scale: G-A-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: d, d, g, d, a, d, g, g lydian
19	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version; called 'small <i>kakiawase</i> ' in NISHI scores; [Minamoto no] Nobuakira favored playing it) 又弾 西譜云小撥合信明好彈此撥合	Scale: G-A-B-c#-d-e-g-a-b Phrase finals: d, g, g, g
20	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: G-A-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: d, d, g, d, a, d, g, g lydian
21	<i>Ichī-no-te Kyūsen</i> (also called <i>Kyūjirō</i>) 一手 丘泉 一説丘次郎	Scale: G-A-B-c-d-e-f-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: d, g, (f,) g, g, g mixolydian

22	The same <i>te</i> 同手 師説	Scale: G-A-B-c-d-e-f-g-a-b Phrase finals: d, g, f, g, f, g g, g	mixolydian
23	<i>Ni-no-te Kyūsen</i> 二手 丘泉	Scale: G-A-B-c-c#-d-e-f-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: d, g, g, d, ḍ-a, d, g, a, d, b, d, g, a, g, g, a, g	fluctuating
24	<i>San-no-te Bankasō</i> 三手 番段宗	Scale: G-A-B-c-d-e-f-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: a, g, f, a, g, d, f, a, g, f, g	fluctuating
25	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: G-A-B-c#-d-e-f-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: b, g, a, f, g, b, g, b, g	fluctuating
26	<i>Shi-no-te Hakuryokushō</i> 四手 白力相	Scale: G-A-B-c-c#-d-e-f-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: g, g, g, d, g, d, g, e, b, g, g, g	fluctuating
27	★ <i>Sekijō ryūsen</i> 石上流泉	Scale: G-A-B-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: b, g, d, g, d, g, d, g, d, g, d, e, b, e, b, e	modulation to a different mode
28	★ <i>Jōgen sekijō ryūsen</i> 上原石上流泉	Scale: G-B-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: b, g, d, g, d, g, d, e, b, e	modulation to a different mode
29	☆ <i>Shōritsuin</i> (KATSURA) 将律音 (頭注「桂」)	Scale: B-d-e-g-a-b Phrase finals: b, e-b	uses a ryo tuning to play <i>ritsu</i> piece
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Ōshikichō</i> 黄鍾調 E-B-e-a			
30	<i>Kakiawase</i> 撥合	Scale: E-G-B-e-f#-g-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: b, b, e, e-b	
31	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: E-G-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-b-d' Phrase finals: b, e, b, e, e-b	
32	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: E-G-B-e-f#-g-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: b, b, e, e-b	
33	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: E-G-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b-d' Phrase finals: b, b, e b, b, e, e-b	dorian
34	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: E-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b Phrase finals: b, b, b, e, e-b	dorian
35	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version; KATSURA) 又弾 (頭注「桂」)	Scale: G-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-g#-a-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: b, e, b, e-b	ornamented dorian
36	<i>Ichino-te</i> 一手	Scale: G-B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: g, e-b b, c#, e-b	dorian
37	<i>Ni-no-te</i> 二手	Scale: E-G-B-d-e-f#-g-g#-a-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: g, g, e-b b, g, e-b b, g, a, e, e, e-b	modulation to a different key
38	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version) 又弾	Scale: B-c#-d-e-f#-g-a-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: g, e, b, e, g, b, d, e	dorian
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Hen-ōshikichō</i> 返黄鍾調 E-B-e-a			
39	<i>Kakiawase</i> (KATSURA) 撥合 (頭注「桂」)	Scale: e-f#-g#-b-c#' Single phrase final: e-b	
40	<i>Mata hiku</i> (another version; called ' <i>netori</i> ') 又弾 号音取	Scale: E-e-f#-g#-a-b-c#' Phrase finals: e, e-b	
41	<i>Te Gojō</i> 手 五娘	Scale: E-F#-G-G#-A-B-c#-d-e-f#-g#-a-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: b, e, b, b, g#, a, g#, f#, e, e, d, b, e-b	mixolydian with one G
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Seichō</i> 清調 B-e-e-b / F#-B-B-f# (scale analysis based on the former)			
42	<i>Kakiawase</i> 撥合	Scale: B-e-f#-g-a-b-c#'-d'-e' Phrase finals: b, e, b, e, e-b	dorian
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Sōjō</i> 双調 A-d-e-a			
43	<i>Kakiawase</i> 撥合	Scale: A-d-e-f#-g#-a-b-c#'-d' Phrase finals: a, a, d, a, d, d	lydian
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Hyojō</i> 平調 F#-B-e-a			
44	<i>Kakiawase</i> 撥合	Scale: F#-B-c#-d-f#-g#-a-b Phrase finals: f#, b, b	dorian
◆ <i>Biwa</i> tuning <i>Takubokuchō</i> 啄木調 G-G-d-g or A-A-e-a (scale analysis based on the former)			
45	★ [<i>Takuboku</i>] (無題, 啄木)	Scale: G-A-B b -d-e-f#-g-a-b-c' Phrase finals: g, g, g, g, g, g, g	ionian with 'blue' note in low register

Appendix 2: Correspondence of modal preludes in *Tenpyō biwa-fu*, *Nangū biwa-fu*, *Minamoto no Tsunenobu-hitsu biwa-fu*, and *Sango yōroku*

Modal preludes with similar content are aligned horizontally; the overall order is set to that given in *Sango yōroku*. Circled numerals at the head of the titles of modal preludes in the other sources indicate the order in which they are found in that particular source. The titles of the ‘secret pieces’ are shown in boxes.

Tuning	<i>Tenpyō biwa-fu</i> 『天平琵琶譜』	<i>Nangū biwa-fu</i> 『南宮琵琶譜』	<i>Minamoto no Tsunenobu-hitsu biwa-fu</i> 『源經信筆琵琶譜』	<i>Sango yōroku</i> (Scroll 2) 『三五要録』卷第二 調子品下
<i>Fukōjō</i> 風香調		① 風香調 丘泉一手 ② 同調 丘泉二手 ③ 同調 丘泉三手 ④ 同調 白力相手	⑫ 風香調 一手 ⑪ 二手 ⑬ 三手 ⑭ 四手 ⑩ 風香調 一手 四手譜所注也	08 一手 丘泉 09 二手 丘泉 10 三手 陳太娘 南宮譜云丘泉 桂説 11 四手 白力相 12 四手 生超 13 同手 西譜云小手 又口伝云小調子 14 大常博士楊真操
<i>Hen-pukōjō</i> 返風香調		⑤ 返風香調 丘泉一手 ⑥ 同調 丘泉二手 ⑦ 同調 ⑧ 同調	① 返風香調 一手 ② 二手 ⑤ 五手 ③ 三手 ④ 四手 ⑥ 上原石上流泉	21 一手 丘泉 一説丘次郎 22 同手 師説 23 二手 丘泉 24 三手 番段宗 25 又彈 26 四手 白力相 27 石上流泉 28 上原石上流泉 29 将律音 (頭注「桂」)
<i>Ōshikichō</i> 黄鍾調	調 (尾欠)	⑨ 黄鍾調 律音 ⑩ 同調 律音 ⑬ 黄鍾調 手彈 ⑭ 同調 手彈	⑦ 黄鍾調 一手 ⑧ 二手	36 一手 37 二手 38 又彈
<i>Hen-ōshikichō</i> 返黄鍾調		⑪ 同調 呂音 ⑫ 同調 呂音	⑨ 返黄鍾調	41 手 五娘
<i>Takubokuchō</i> 啄木調				45 [啄木]

8～13 世紀の日本における琵琶独奏曲の復元をめぐる

スティーヴン・G・ネルソン

要 旨

日本には、奈良時代（8 世紀）から鎌倉時代（13 世紀）にかけて成立した琵琶の古楽譜には多くの独奏曲がある。これらの独奏曲は 2 種類ある。すなわち調絃を確かめるための短い「撥合」^{かきあわせ}（「緒合」^{おあわせ}「絃合」とも）及び音楽的により豊かな内容を持つ「手」（「秘手」「調」「調子」とも）である。後者には、12～13 世紀の琵琶の伝承の中で特に重んじられた「秘曲」、すなわち日本の説話文学などでも有名な《流泉》（《石上流泉》・《上原石上流泉》の 2 曲）、《啄木》、及び《太常博士楊真操》も含まれている。なお、現行の日本雅楽の演奏伝承では琵琶の独奏曲は演奏されておらず、ごく一部を除きその伝承は断絶してしまったと断定してよい。

著者は、これらの琵琶独奏曲の全貌を明らかにするための研究プロジェクトを数年前から進めているが、本稿は主に次の 3 点について論じる。

1. 「撥合」と「手」の形式的特徴。

「撥合」には同音反復を含むフレーズが多く、その特徴が「撥合」という名称の由来に関わるであろう。一方、「手」には多くの場合、旋律の反復とそれによる展開が見られる。

2. 「撥合」と「手」における調性。

「撥合」には日本化した調理論による音階が用いられるのに対して、「手」には唐の調理論に忠実な曲と、転調・転均により調性が揺れる曲とがある。

3. 基本奏法やテンポの問題。

13 世紀初頭成立の琵琶師伝集『胡琴教録』（著者不詳）、楽書『知国秘鈔』（藤原孝道 [1166–1237] 著）及び楽譜『三五中録』（孝道の息子、藤原孝時 [1189/90–1266] 撰）における注記を読み合わせることによって、これらの点についてある程度類推が可能で、復元試演の実証性を上げることができる。

また、古典文学における具体例として『源氏物語』『宿木』巻の一場面を取り上げ、1. 琵琶独奏曲の伝承の断絶、および調絃名と調子名との混同のため、誤った解釈が横行していること、2. 登場人物の自発的な発言が発端となって、後世に琵琶の秘曲伝授に関わる説話（『吉野吉水院楽書』、『古事談』、『十訓抄』等）が発生していった可能性があることについても言及している。